

## Message Text

SECRET

PAGE 01 PARIS 30778 01 OF 03 252004Z

42

ACTION NODS-00

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 /001 W

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FM AMEMBASSY PARIS

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 5533

S E C R E T SECTION 01 OF 03 PARIS 30778

NODIS/CHEROKEE

FOR THE SECRETARY ONLY FROM THE AMBASSADOR

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR FR CA

SUBJECT: FOREIGN MINISTER SAUVAGNARGUES' VISIT TO CHINA

REF: STATE 277320

SUMMARY: DURING VISIT TO CHINA, FOREIGN MINISTER SAUVAGNARGUES WAS TREATED TO STEADY DRUMBEAT OF ANTI-DETENTE AND ANTI-SOVIET ANALYSIS BY CHINESE HOSTS. BOTH VICE-PREMIER AND FOREIGN MINISTER STRESSED THE NEED FOR EUROPE TO BE STRONG, TO HAVE ITS OWN DEFENSE, AND FOR FIRST TIME, TO BE LEERY OF U.S. COMMITMENT. CHINESE SAID THAT MAIN THRUST OF THEIR CONVERSATIONS WITH PRESIDENT FORD WILL BE TO POINT OUT DANGERS AND SOVIET ENTRAPMENT WHICH THEY SEE IN DETENTE. END SUMMARY.

1. FOREIGN MINISTER SAUVAGNARGUES RETURNED TO PARIS FROM HIS VISIT TO CHINA EARLY THIS MORNING. WHILE HE PLUNGED INTO PREPARATIONS FOR HIS CYPRUS INITIATIVE TOMORROW (PARIS 30693), HE ASKED POLITICAL DIRECTOR DE LABOULAYE, WHO ACCOMPANIED HIM THROUGHOUT, TO GIVE ME FULL BRIEFING. DE LABOULAYE ASKED THAT WE HOLD DETAILS OF BRIEFING CLOSELY SINCE SOVIETS ARE NOT BEING BRIEFED. HE ALSO EXPRESSED HOPE THAT WE WOULD PROVIDE APPROPRIATE REDD-OUT AFTER PRESIDENT FORD'S TRIP NEXT WEEK.

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SECRET

PAGE 02 PARIS 30778 01 OF 03 252004Z

2. DE LABOULAYE SAID THE HIGHLIGHT OF THE VISIT CONSISTED OF DISCUSSIONS WITH FOREIGN MINISTER CH'IAO KUAN-HUA ON NOVEMBER 20 AND VICE-PREMIER TENG HSIAO-P'ING ON NOVEMBER 24. BOTH DELIVERED WELL PREPARED AND HIGHLY PASSIONATE DISCOURSES ON WHAT THEY CONSIDER THE DANGERS OF DETENTE. THEY CLAIMED THAT THE SOVIETS, WHOM THEY CALLED THE "SOCIO-IMPERIALISTS," ARE CAMOUFLAGING PREPARATIONS FOR MORE AGGRESSIVE BEHAVIOR BEHIND THE FACADE OF HELSINKI. ACCORDING TO TENG, DETENTE IS PUTTING THE WEST TO SLEEP, AND THE AMERICANS ARE MORE DEEPLY ASLEEP THAN ANYONE ELSE. WHEN PRESIDENT FORD COMES TO CHINA NEXT WEEK, ALL CHINESE OFFICIALS FROM TOP TO BOTTOM WILL TRY TO CONVINCE HIM THAT THE AMERICAN DETENTE POLICY IS ALL WRONG. THE U.S. IS OVERFEEDING THE USSR WITH CEREALS AND TECHNOLOGY, TENG SAID, AND MAKE NO MISTAKE ABOUT IT, THE USSR WILL ONE DAY BITE THE HAND THAT FEEDS IT.

3. SOME PEOPLE SAY THAT BREZHNEV IS NOT AN ADVENTURIST LIKE KHRUSHCHEV WAS, TENG CONTINUED. BUT THE RECORD OF BREZHNEV'S BEHAVIOR DEMONSTRATES OTHERWISE. HE THEN TICKED OFF A WELL REHEARSED LIST OF BREZHNEV ADVENTURES--CZECHOSLOVAKIA IN 1968, PAKISTAN'S DISINTEGRATION, INTENSIFICATION OF ANTI-US OPERATIONS IN THE MIDDLE EAST, EXPANSION OF THE SOVIET FLEET, SOVIET AIR FORCE FLIGHTS OVER CHINESE TERRITORY, SUBVERSION IN YUGOSLAVIA, AND THE SO-CALLED COLLECTIVE SECURITY SYSTEM IN ASIA.

4. ON HELSINKI, TENG SAID THAT THE RESULTS FAVOR THE SOVIET UNION. HELSINKI IS A CAMOUFLAGE FOR SOVIET WAR PREPARATIONS, TENG INSISTED. DE LABOULAYE SAID THAT SAUVAGNARGUES DEMURRED STRONGLY ON THIS POINT. HE SAID THAT FRANCE CONSIDERS THE RESULTS OF HELSINKI TO BE WELL BALANCED, AND THAT THE GOF WILL PREVENT THE FRENCH PEOPLE FROM DEVELOPING A FALSE SENSE OF SECURITY. FRANCE BELIEVES STRONGLY IN DEFENSE AGAINST THE POTENTIAL SOVIET THREAT AND IS BASING ITS DEFENSE ON THREE MAIN POLICIES--MEMBERSHIP IN THE ATLANTIC ALLIANCE, THE CONSTRUCTION OF A STRONG AND UNITED EUROPE, AND INCREASING COOPERATION WITH THE DEVELOPING COUNTRIES.

SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 03 PARIS 30778 01 OF 03 252004Z

5. TENG RESPONDED WITH APPROVAL OF FRANCE'S FOREIGN POLICY, ESPECIALLY THE EMPHASIS ON THE ATLANTIC ALLIANCE AND A STRONG EUROPE. TENG SAID IT IS EXTREMELY IMPORTANT TO KEEP THE AMERICAN PRESENCE IN EUROPE, BUT IT IS ALSO IMPORTANT TO DEVELOP A EUROPEAN DEFENSE CAPABILITY.

6. ON THE AMERICAN COMMITMENT TO EUROPEAN DEFENSE, TENG

SECRET

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PAGE 01 PARIS 30778 02 OF 03 252007Z

46

ACTION NODS-00

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 /001 W

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TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 5534

S E C R E T SECTION 02 OF 03 PARIS 30778

NODIS/CHEROKEE

SAID THAT WHILE IT IS EXTREMELY IMPORTANT TO MAINTAIN THE U.S. PRESENCE, THE CHINESE SENSE AN ATMOSPHERE OF MUNICH SURROUNDING THAT PRESENCE. CHINA IS NOT SURE, TENG SAID, THAT IN THE FACE OF A DETERMINED THRUST BY THE USSR, THE U.S. WOULD REACT FIRMLY, OR ON THE CONTRARY MIGHT GIVE WAY AS THE BRITISH DID AT DUNKERQUE. TENG SAID HE HOPED THE SOVIETS KEEP UP THE PRESSURE IN EUROPE IN ORDER TO STIMULATE THE AMERICANS TO EXPRESS THEIR DETERMINATION. THE EUROPEANS MUST INCREASE THEIR DEFENSE EFFORTS, HOWEVER, IN CASE THE AMERICANS GIVE WAY TO APPEASEMENT.

7. DE LABOULAYE SAID SAUVAGNARGUES RESPONDED TO TENG'S REMARKS ABOUT EUROPEAN DEFENSE WITH A WARNING THAT TOO INDEPENDENT A EUROPEAN DEFENSE EFFORT COULD GIVE THE UNITED STATES THE FALSE IMPRESSION THAT EUROPE DOESN'T NEED THEM ANY MORE. THE EFFECT WOULD BE THE OPPOSITE OF WHAT THE CHINESE DESIRE. DE LABOULAYE SAID TENG CONSIDERED THIS AN IMPORTANT ARGUMENT WORTH CONSIDERING.

8. BOTH TENG AND CH'IAO STRESSED THE IMPORTANCE OF EUROPE AS THE KEY TO SOVIET AMBITIONS. IF EUROPE FALLS TO THE USSR, ALL OTHER PARTS OF THE WORLD ARE DIRECTLY MENACED. IF EUROPE MAINTAINS ITS INDEPENDENCE, THE USSR WILL BE STYMIED IN THEIR GLOBAL AMBITIONS. DE LABOULAYE SAID THAT TENG AND CH'IAO SPOKE OF THE SOVIET THREAT TO EUROPE IN TERMS THAT APPEARED ACTION

WAS IMMINENT. QUESTIONED ON THIS POINT, THE CHINESE  
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PAGE 02 PARIS 30778 02 OF 03 252007Z

SAID THAT THEY DID NOT EXPECT ACTION IN THE IMMEDIATE  
FUTURE, BUT THE DANGER IS INCREASING, AND THE SOVIET AXE  
COULD FALL "WITHIN A FEW YEARS." IN RESPONSE TO  
SAUVAGNARGUES' QUERY, CH'IAO STRESSED THAT NO CHANGE CAN  
BE EXPECTED IN THE SOVIET ATTITUDE AFTER BREZHNEV GOES.  
"IT IS IN THE NATURE OF THE SOCIO-IMPERIALIST REGIME TO  
BE A DANGER TO OTHERS." ON THE QUESTION OF U.S. RESOLVE  
TO RESIST SOVIET AGGRESSION, CH'IAO SAID THAT THE U.S.  
DEPARTURE FROM VIETNAM AFTER LOSING ONLY 50,000 MEN IS  
AN INDICATION THAT THE U.S. MIGHT QUIT IN THE FACE OF A  
SOVIET THRUST, ESPECIALLY IF A WAR IN EUROPE COULD BE  
KEPT BELOW THE NUCLEAR THRESHOLD.

9. DE LABOULAYE STRESSED THAT THE LITANY DESCRIBED  
ABOVE CONTINUED FOR HOURS ON END, WITH THE CHINESE IN-  
JECTION OF THE U.S. APPEASEMENT POTENTIAL AS THE ONLY  
REAL NEW ELEMENT. IT APPEARED COMPLETELY OBVIOUS TO THE  
FRENCH DELEGATION THAT THE SAME LITANY WILL BE REPEATED  
TO PRESIDENT FORD NEXT WEEK.

10. ON THE OVER-ALL ATMOSPHERE OF THE VISIT, DE LABOU-  
LAYE SAID SAUVAGNARGUES WAS PLEASED. HE DISMISSED  
FRENCH PRESS CRITICISM THAT SAUVAGNARGUES WAS NOT GIVEN  
HIGH ENOUGH PROTOCOL AS INACCURATE. IT IS RARE FOR  
FOREIGN MINISTERS (APART FROM DR. KISSINGER) TO SEE TWO  
VICE-PREMIERS WHEN THEY VISIT CHINA. SAUVAGNARGUES HAD  
TALKS WITH BOTH TENG AND LI HSIEN NIEN, DE LABOULAYE  
STRESSED.

11. ON OTHER SUBJECTS, DE LABOULAYE SAID THE FOLLOWING:

JAPAN: CHINA IS NOT TOO IMPRESSED WITH THE JAPAN-  
ESE, WHO HAVE NO ENERGY, NO FOOD PRODUCING CAPACITY AND  
NO RAW MATERIALS. CHINA WILL BE PATIENT ON THE HEGEMONY  
CLAUSE. THERE IS NO HURRY. DE LABOULAYE SAID CH'IAO'S

SECRET

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PAGE 01 PARIS 30778 03 OF 03 252008Z

42

ACTION NODS-00

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 /001 W

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FM AMEMBASSY PARIS

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 5535

S E C R E T SECTION 3 OF 3 PARIS 30778

NODIS/CHEROKEE

DEPRECATING REMARKS ABOUT JAPAN WERE NOT REFLECTED BY  
EXTERNAL TRADE OFFICIALS, WHO ATTRIBUTED GREAT IMPOR-  
TANCE TO TRADE WITH JAPAN.

CAMBODIA: CHINA IS PLEASED AT THE RECONCILIATION  
WITH THAILAND.

VIETNAM: THE VIETNAMESE ARE A PROUD PEOPLE WHO  
HAVE BEEN FIGHTING FOR INDEPENDENCE FOR OVER A THOUSAND  
YEARS. THEY ARE NOT ABOUT TO BECOME DEPENDENT AT THIS  
TIME.

LAOS: THE LAOTIANS ARE ALSO A PROUD AND INDEPEN-  
DENT PEOPLE. CHINA WANTS TO MAINTAIN GOOD RELATIONS  
WITH SOUVANNA PHOUMA.

12. FINALLY, DE LABOULAYE SAID IT IS CLEAR THAT CHOU IS  
TOO SICK TO SEE ANYONE, ALTHOUGH HE IS KEPT INFORMED BY  
HIS PERSONAL SECRETARY. THERE WERE WRITTEN PERSONAL  
MESSAGES FROM MAO AND CHOU TO GISCARD AND CHIRAC RESPEC-  
TIVELY. SAUVAGNARGUES HAD THE IMPRESSION THAT TENG IS  
IN FULL CHARGE. THEY WERE ESPECIALLY IMPRESSED WITH  
THE WAY HE DESCRIBED CHINESE POLICY. INSTEAD OF SAYING  
"I FEEL," OR "I BELIEVE," TENG CONTINUOUSLY SAID  
"CHINA FEELS" OR "CHINA BELIEVES" OR "CHINA'S POLICY  
IS." IN SHORT, TENG APPEARED REALLY TO BE SPEAKING FOR  
CHINA.

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PAGE 02 PARIS 30778 03 OF 03 252008Z

13. AT THE CONCLUSION OF OUR DISCUSSION DE LABOULAYE  
SAID THAT HE HAD GIVEN US A SUMMARY OF EVERYTHING  
THAT HAD TAKEN PLACE, AND HE HOPED THAT IN TURN WE WILL  
GIVE THE FRENCH A FULL REPORT OF WHAT TAKES PLACE DURING

PRESIDENT'S FORD'S AND YOUR VISIT TO CHINA.

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## Message Attributes

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